

A  
S E R M O N

PREACHED BEFORE THE

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

JULY 4, 1784.

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DEPARTMENT OF SCIENCE

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

JULY 1881



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JULY 4, 1784.

ON THE  
Duty of attempting the Propagation of the Gospel  
AMONG OUR  
MAHOMETAN and GENTOO Subjects in INDIA.

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By JOSEPH WHITE, B.D.

FELLOW OF WADHAM COLLEGE,  
ARCHBISHOP LAUD'S PROFESSOR, OF ARABIC, AND  
ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S PREACHERS AT WHITEHALL.

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L O N D O N,  
Printed for G. G. J. and J. ROBINSON, Paternoster-Row.  
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S E R M O N

PREACHED AT

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD



Delivered on the Festival of the Gospel

AT HOME

MANCHESTER AND GILDED SUBJECTS IN INDIA

BY JOSEPH WHITE, B.D.

RECTOR OF WADHAM COLLEGE,  
ASTON-LE-WALLS, DEAN OF ARAM, AND  
ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S PREACHERS AT WINDSOR.

L O N D O N

Printed by G. J. and J. P. ...  
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# S E R M O N

PREACHED BEFORE THE  
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

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MARK XVI. 15.

*Go ye into all the world, and preach the  
gospel to every creature.*

**W**HEN our Saviour, after the completion of his earthly ministry, was preparing to ascend into heaven, this was his great and last command to the apostles : *Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.* Whilst he pointed out the end, he also prepared the means : he sent his Spirit from above, to fortify his apostles against danger, to console them under affliction, to dispel their scruples, and to correct their mistakes.

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To these operations of the Holy Ghost on the minds of Christ's disciples was added the power of working miracles; so that extraordinary and ordinary causes at once conspired in supporting the efforts of those who were friends to the gospel, and in vanquishing the opposition of its fiercest and most formidable enemies.

But the work of salvation so auspiciously begun by the apostles, was not continued with the same spirit of charity and truth by the succeeding ministers of Christ. More labour was exerted to allure those who were already followers of his religion with some distinction of sect or peculiarity of doctrine, than to reform the lives of the unconverted by its pure and simple precepts; or to convince their understandings by the display of the genuine and characteristic doctrines which he had taught.

Christianity, whether we consider the promises of its founder, or the spirit of its laws,



laws, is calculated for universal use, and claims universal belief. Its influence, however, must from the very constitution of the moral world necessarily be progressive; and in different circumstances the knowledge of it will be in different degrees accelerated or retarded. The rude and uncivilized inhabitants of northern Europe more readily admitted the doctrines of the gospel than the polished and fastidious citizens of Athens and Rome.

To the impediments which operated in particular countries, may be added other causes, arising from the general state of the world. The want of a large and liberal intercourse among the inhabitants of the earth, prevented for a time the diffusion of Christian knowledge. When nations became known to each other, the objects to which their attention was generally turned, had but little connection with the concerns of religion. Some were intent upon amassing wealth, and some upon grasping dominion. The tra-

veller was content with gratifying a vacant curiosity ; and the philosopher was chiefly employed in exploring the works of nature, without transferring his observations to any subject of utility ; or in remarking the dissimilarities of opinion and manners that exist among mankind, without the opportunity, or even the wish to reform them.

In such times and under such circumstances it would have been vain to expect any plans for religious improvement, or any rational efforts for the dissemination of religious knowledge. Yet we have reason, perhaps, upon the whole to congratulate ourselves, that the propagation of the gospel has rarely been the professed aim of any nation in the ages which are past. The wild and romantic object of the crusades, and the outrageous excesses committed during their continuance, are a proof that the Christian religion, even from its own inherent qualities, is incapable of being propagated by the sword:

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and from the characters of the crusaders we may conclude, that the spirit which begins in a mistaken and religious zeal, passes by easy and imperceptible transition into political cunning, or insatiable ambition. Here then we find some of the causes, in consequence of which the light has not hitherto shone with effect among those nations which still remain overshadowed by ignorance, or hardened in unbelief.

In succeeding times the labours of Christian countries have been vigorously and successfully employed rather in the improvement of religion, than in the propagation of it. Its evidences have been collected; its doctrines have been elucidated; the attacks of its enemies have been repelled; and the morals of its professors, upon the whole, have been purified. The powers and views of the human understanding are limited; and probably to the <sup>compression</sup> ~~operation~~ of that strength which has been exerted upon the

proofs and illustrations of Christianity, where it is believed, may be ascribed the just and enlarged notions which now prevail in the nations of Europe. If more had been attempted, less probably would have been performed: if our zeal had been chiefly directed to the diffusion of the Gospel, our ideas of its use might have been less correct and less comprehensive.

From the inattention of the Europeans to the propagation of the gospel in these later ages of civilization, and from the contracted views or the odious barbarities of those who professed to propagate it in less enlightened times, the inhabitants of many countries as yet continue rooted in the ancient absurdities of Pagan superstition, or deluded by the arrogant and impious pretensions of that false prophet, who presumed to go forth, like another Messiah, in the East, and erected a larger kingdom on earth than the Son of the living God.

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But to those, perhaps, who have a more just and extensive view of the subject, the very delay will ultimately be found accompanied with advantages, which, while they redound to the honour of the moral government of God, ought to give new animation to our own endeavours. Would, for instance, Christianity have been established in its original purity, or to any good practical purpose by the rapacious conqueror, by the roving adventurer, or by the visionary philosopher? Where should we have seen any traces of Christian charity, or of rational piety, in that system of opinions and that plan of ceremonial worship, which the frantic and sanguinary zeal of the crusader would probably have established? Would not the gloom of papal superstition, and the severities of papal domination, have been spread and exercised more widely? Might not the spirit of superstition have gained an accession of strength with the change of its object, if the gospel had been first introduced by those who could not so far understand it, as to

distinguish between its genuine and pretended doctrines ? We, therefore, who live in these enlightened times, have peculiar opportunities of doing what has been left undone by our forefathers ; and for planning with wisdom, and executing with success, what they have either neglected, or attempted to do in vain. We have no misconceptions of Christianity to set right, no corruptions of it to purify. As Protestants, we have only to bear the Bible in our hands ; to expatiate upon its importance and its truth ; to teach what it reveals with sincerity ; and to enforce what it commands with earnestness.

Christianity was at first established by extraordinary means ; but though we presume not to look for the renovation of miracles, or to desire the instantaneous gift and utterance of divers tongues, we are still enabled to accomplish the same conviction in the unbelieving nations, by an industrious acquisition of their various languages, and an acquaintance with their  
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local prejudices, their manners, and their laws. These are the great duties of our mission; and that the task has been zealously, and in some degree successfully performed, cannot be denied, without ingratitude to the piety and sufferings of many individuals, who may justly be accounted happy ornaments of our own Christian country and truly Christian church.

But it deserves particularly to be remarked, that while our endeavours have been directed to the instruction of ignorant and savage tribes, the task of converting the more enlightened nations, who are led away by the false pretensions of the Arabian impostor, has been constantly declined as impracticable, or even opposed as inexpedient and dangerous.

To establish both the expediency and practicability of propagating it, is the purpose of this discourse. I mean not, however, to enter into an elaborate discussion of the general question relating to the  
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*duty* of baptising all nations. That this duty is incumbent on Christians of every age; that the command delivered in the words of my text, with a more immediate reference to the Apostles, is equally binding upon ourselves; that under a change of external circumstances, we can effect by ordinary measures what they were invested with extraordinary powers to perform, are positions which it is unnecessary for me to establish. They have already been enforced with great strength of argument, and great splendour of eloquence, by several eminent writers, whose learning and whose liberal piety have done equal honour to their country, and to that respectable society to which they belong: sufficient therefore it is for me to declare, that I admit the justice of their reasoning, and cannot add much to its weight. But the age in which we live is, we know, distinguished by metaphysical refinement. The clearness of general deductions is, in the minds of many persons, obscured by the ingenuity with which particular objections



jections are employed to gratify a fondness for novelty, and to weaken the authority of prescription. Detached and hypothetical arguments are suffered to destroy the collective force of proofs already methodized, and of facts already admitted. It becomes us, therefore, to discuss the subject with some kind of accommodation to the tempers and prepossessions of those whom we would convince: and with this view I shall in the following discourse FIRST endeavour to refute two objections which have been alledged against the propriety of *any* attempt to propagate the gospel; and SECONDLY I shall consider at large the peculiar expediency of propagating it among Eastern nations.

It has been objected with some plausibility, that the Deity delights in the variety of religions which have appeared upon the face of the earth. The proposition is specious, but not new: for whatever pretension philosophers may put up to originality, the same thing has been said  
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by one of those writers<sup>a</sup>, whom it is the custom of those same philosophers to ridicule for narrow conceptions and groveling superstition. But as the general proposition carries in it something specious and imposing, it is worth our while to analyse it. And here we shall have reason to apprehend, that men have not argued upon solid grounds from themselves to the Creator. Variety in man pleases from sentiment; from a sentiment sui generis: and perhaps the physical source of it is to be found in the weakness of our understanding, which incapacitates us for the contemplation of good, beyond a certain aggregate; or from the fickleness of our passions, which roam from one object to another, without any settled principle of choice. But neither the sentiment itself, nor the causes from which it probably proceeds, can, without impiety be ascribed to the Deity. Here

<sup>a</sup> "Forfitan et varietas hujusmodi, ordinante Deo, "decorem quendam parit in universo mirabilem." *Marcilius Ficinus*, in his Treatise on the Christian Religion, chap. iv.

then



then there is no room for analogy : but there is a point of view in which another kind of analogy does exist, sufficient, it should seem, to vindicate the ways of the Creator, and to point out the duty of moral agents.

In the power of man over the animal and vegetable world, in the arts of civilization, in the means of drawing out the peculiar advantages, or counteracting the peculiar disadvantages of climate ; in the various expedients by which existence is preserved and made happy ; one nation and one age differs from another. Yet we are directed by our reason, and impelled by our better instincts, to reform abuses and extend improvements both in the physical and moral world. We teach the savage the art of healing ; we assist him in fencing off the inclemency of the weather ; we shew him the advantages of government and laws. In all these exertions the moral principle is instantly accompanied with a strong  
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sentiment of approbation. The government of God was, doubtless, wise and righteous before the communication of this knowledge: but in our apprehensions, it inevitably and justly becomes more defensible and illustrious, when the evils of life are lessened, or its blessings multiplied. The social principle seems implanted in us for this very purpose. The moral agency of man is the instrument by which the goodness of God acts upon man. And in this enlarged view it is that philanthropy puts forth its whole force, and excites the highest approbation. Now, the religious government of God seems perfectly correspondent to the natural and moral government of the world. And wheresoever there is a capacity in mankind to comprehend religious truths more largely, and to practise religious duties more exactly, that moment there arises a clear and strong obligation upon us to communicate those truths, and to encourage those duties among our fellow-creatures. We look  
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with admiration and gratitude upon the extraordinary interpositions, and upon the ordinary blessings which are conveyed to us in the course of his providence, independently of our own counsels and our own exertions : but surely his benevolence is not less important, and his wisdom is even more conspicuous, in that constitution of the world which enables us, and in that frame of mind which impels us, to do good one to another. In doing this good, we are effectually carrying on the gracious designs of our Maker ; we obtain a more distinct and comfortable view of his government ; and while we fill up the measure of our own duty as individuals, we complete the aggregate of that felicity which the species itself is capable of attaining, and which therefore we justly conclude to be intended for those to whom it is in our power to communicate it. By these means the sphere of our rational and religious powers is enlarged ; the operation of physical and moral causes conspires to the same end ;  
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the general stock both of virtue and of happiness connected with it, is augmented; and in the successful endeavours of those who diffuse the knowledge of the truth, and of those who embrace it, we see the highest consistence and perfection in that scheme of the divine government, where the interests of futurity are blended with those of the present life; and where the immediate reward of each man's merit is inseparably united with the increasing welfare of all.

I now proceed to detect the fallacy of another sophism, which owes its popularity rather to the confidence with which it is maintained, than to the ability with which it is supported. It is of little importance, we are told, what religion men profess, whether they admit one God, or more than one; whether they bow the knee at the altar of an imaginary or a real Deity, while they practise good morality. If then religion be a matter really indifferent and unimportant, let us entreat  
those



those who bring the objection to be consistent with themselves, and to suppress all the complaints which they have so often alledged against the superstitious bigot, and to check the raillery in which they have indulged themselves against the deluded fanatic. On the contrary, if religion have an immediate and extensive influence upon the peace of mankind; if by regulating opinion, it even remotely affect practice, let us not hastily assume that it is always productive of evil consequences; and let us diligently endeavour to examine the circumstances in which it may be accompanied by such as are proper and efficacious. Some of its doctrines are unquestionably congenial to the natural sentiments, which however diversified by local or temporary causes, have prevailed in all ages and in all countries; to those sentiments which have their hold upon the wild barbarian, and the polished citizen; to those sentiments, which agitate even the savage with wild admiration, and impress the philosopher with serious awe. It would be

irrational to suppose that these sentiments have nothing sound in their principles ; it would be false to assert that they are barren of effect ; it would be dastardly to imagine that the truths belonging to them will for ever elude enquiry ; and it would be unjust to presume, that when known, they will not confer some advantage. But the question itself is, I am inclined to think, usually stated in a manner that is both incorrect and invidious. As Tully was led by his enlarged and exact habits of thinking to lament the separation between philosophy and eloquence, so will every impartial and diligent enquirer find reason to be dissatisfied that religion should even in idea, be divided from morality. The fact is, that under proper directions, they act upon each other with an intense and incessant force ; that they correct the misconceptions, supply the defects, and invigorate the proper energy of each other. Both are made for man, and for both man himself is made ; if we may argue from the state where he is now placed, and from



the faculties with which he is now endowed. There are many situations in which, impelled as he is by various desires, and assailed by various temptations, he finds sometimes salutary restraint, and sometimes useful direction, in what are called their distinct and appropriate powers. There are many occasions, on which he stands in need of their united aid, either when present considerations are too feeble to determine him in the choice of his ultimate interests; or when the prospect of futurity is for a moment too clouded and too remote, to keep him steady in the path which can alone preserve his innocence. These observations are strictly true, and deserve our most recollected attention, even when we are reasoning upon the supposition that Morality and Religion can with propriety be considered as distinct in mere speculation. But the terms are surely, upon every principle of profound and impartial examination, contracted, and distorted from their right

meaning. Morality, in its full and just signification, includes all the duties of which a moral agent is capable, and all the foundations of those duties which can be discovered by a rational being. Such it appears not only in the maxims of the wisest sages, but in the laws of the best regulated states, where, as in the institutions of a Solon or a Numa, religious as well as civil regulations have been permitted to hold a distinguished rank. Such it was in the Mosaic code; such it is in those rules by which the Chinese, the Hindoos, and the Mahometans are instructed in the worship of their Creator, as well as in their conduct to their fellow-creatures; such it seems to be in the opinions and customs which have been established in the darkest and most uncivilized nations; and such it continued, as they gradually emerged from ignorance and from barbarism.

Religion, therefore, if we appeal to the common apprehensions of mankind,  
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forms a *part* of morality : and surely it is not the less valuable, or the less probable, because it contains directions and sanctions that relate to the whole.

Now, if the objector maintains that many religions which have gained credit in the world are false, we consider the question as then shifted from the point of Importance to the point of Truth. We deny any inferences from the fact alledged, which insinuate that none therefore can be true : we maintain, that if any one religion be true, it cannot be wholly unimportant ; and in estimating that importance, we have a right to insist that the comparison be made, not only between the hypothetical consequences of any religion or none, but between the actual consequences of that, which we allow with the objector to be false, and that, which in opposition to him, we are prepared to defend as the true.

As scholars, we admire the composition, and under many useful restrictions, we may, as philosophers, admit the doctrine of the Universal Prayer, in which a writer of our own nation has united the most beautiful poetry with the most sublime devotion. He there means to affirm that Jews, and Heathens, and Christians, equally acknowledged the existence of a supreme and intelligent cause, however they might distinguish him by different names, adore him in different forms, and even ascribe to him different attributes. But from this fact, which we readily admit, he does not draw the hazardous and unfair conclusion, which alone I am concerned to refute. He does not say, that the notions entertained of the Deity, were equally just; that the worship they paid him was equally acceptable; and that either in a speculative or a practical, in a philosophical or a religious light, it was totally *indifferent* whether our faith was directed to the Olympian Jove, or to the invisible Lord of Heaven and Earth.



In every country, it is true, God has given some witness of himself; has implanted some notions of his being and perfections; has received some instances of adoration and obedience, from those whom he has made. In every country also he has given proofs of his creative power and providential care; has bestowed some advantages which deserve the gratitude of mankind; and exposed them to some evils, for protection from which they must have recourse to his gracious assistance, conveyed to them (as indeed most of his blessings are) by intermediate causes, by human activity, and human prudence. But in his religious as well as in his temporal dispensations, there is a great and an incontestable inequality: and to correct that inequality is often within our power; and when in our power, it assuredly becomes our indispensable duty. We relieve, as was before observed, the distressed; we are conscious in relieving them, of employing the means which God has given us, to the

ends for which he designed them : and in the hour of solemn and deep meditation, we are led to admire that constitution of the universe, by which man is qualified and impelled to promote the happiness of man ; and by which also physical evil becomes subservient to the production of moral good. What then, I would ask, are the reasons which prevent our application of the same principles in the instruction of the ignorant and the mistaken ? We communicate the improvements of law, and the discoveries of science : why then are we to be indifferent about imparting juster notions of religion ? Is truth less congenial to the mind upon these subjects than error ? Is it so difficult to be communicated, as always to baffle our endeavours, or so insignificant when communicated, as in no degree to reward them ? The capacity of mankind to receive and to profit by religious instruction is, I confess, different in different circumstances. - Great candour, doubtless, and great caution are necessary in conducting the



the work. The progress of it will be retarded by sluggish apprehension, by languid attention, or by perverse opposition. The effects of it may, for a time, be counteracted by preconceived opinions, by inveterate habits, by the passions and propensities of individuals ; or by peculiarities in the manners, and it may be, the climates of a whole people. But these causes operate surely in all our attempts to enlighten men by knowledge, and to meliorate them by laws : and if the experiment be made successfully in the one case, why should we despair of success in the other ?

Every change that we attempt in the laws and the employments of a people, must be made, if it be made wisely, with some reference to their religious tenets and modes of worship. The degree and the order in which we endeavour to improve them respectively, will depend upon a variety of causes which it will require our utmost sagacity to ascertain, and  
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our utmost caution to manage. But all are capable of improvement: and that scheme has the fairest chance for speedy and complete execution, is most noble in itself, and will be most beneficial in its effects, which by a well-proportioned attention to the parts, bestows harmony and stability upon the whole.

We have seen in a former Discourse, that European nations are indebted for their superiority to their religious creed, as well as to their civil institutions, or their philosophical attainments; that each of these moral causes has a wide and visible influence; that there is a sphere for their united as well as for their distinct agency; that they assist in the improvement of each other; that they have their principles in the common nature of man; and that in their well directed and well exerted energies they conspire to one common end, in enlarging our intellectual powers, in meliorating our social affections, and in promoting our true and proper



per happiness, as Citizens, as Christians,  
and as Men.

I assume therefore confidently the efficacy of religion ; and I am warranted by experience in contending for the beneficial efficacy of the Christian. In nations already baptized, we condemn the bigot and the fanatic upon principles both of revelation and reason ; I mean upon their fundamental and consistent principles ; upon the express precepts of the one, and upon the clearest dictates of the other. We know that the illiberal spirit of the bigot, and the absurd notions of the fanatic, have a direct and unfriendly influence upon their moral conduct, and render them unfit for the present as well as the future world. Bigots and fanatics are to be found in those nations whom we wish to baptize : the source of their imperfections lies in the wrong apprehensions they entertain of the Deity himself, of the laws which he prescribes, and of the means by which his favour is to be

our utmost caution to manage. But all are capable of improvement: and that scheme has the fairest chance for speedy and complete execution, is most noble in itself, and will be most beneficial in its effects, which by a well-proportioned attention to the parts, bestows harmony and stability upon the whole.

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be conciliated. If then Christianity, honestly and rationally taught, be likely to correct their errors, to assuage their groundless fears, to soften their unsocial tempers, and eventually to open a wider field for their talents and their virtues, we are bound from a mere regard to its usefulness, to open every avenue by which the knowledge of it may be conveyed to distant nations. If we are persuaded of its truth, we may safely trust the consequences of its propagation to that omniscient Being, who has implanted in us an instinctive love of what is true, and has prepared our minds for the reception of it from adequate instruments, and upon favourable opportunities. If we are impressed with a sincere and grateful sense of its divine original, we shall manifest that sincerity and that gratitude, by our ardent wishes, and our unwearied endeavours to make other men partakers of those blessings which we ourselves enjoy. Truth, we allow, when metaphysically analysed, derives its moral importance from



from its utility. But we contend, in our turn, that utility is, in an abstract point of view, naturally connected with truth; and therefore, with a reference to both, we insist upon the expediency of propagating the Gospel.

As to the obstinacy with which nations adhere to those religious tenets, which they have imbibed from education and contemplated with reverence, it furnishes no solid argument against our project: it is indeed a just and weighty reason for an increase of caution, and on the very same ground of difficulty, it becomes an additional incentive to an increase of diligence. You diffuse the light of philosophical knowledge, though it must lay open the fallacy and absurdity of many opinions, which tradition has preserved concerning the origin and structure of the world. You introduce such laws and customs, as in a course of time will bring on a material revolution in the manners of the nations with whom you  
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are connected, and militate against many ritual observances, and, perhaps, some moral precepts which are now protected by the supposed commands of the Almighty. Do you wish then, that they should deliberately, and habitually disobey the religion they believe to be true; or when you have gradually worn away the force of prejudice, and taught them by more comprehensive and precise modes of reasoning to reject it as false, do you mean to provide no substitute? When your social habits and civil institutions are established on a firm foundation, and supported by general approbation and general concurrence, you may surely endeavour to avail yourselves of the prepossession which, in the minds of considerate and impartial men, they cannot fail to excite in favour of your religious code.

Doubts of a different kind from those I have examined under a former head, have arisen with sensible men, how far the propagation of the Gospel in some countries,



countries, be upon the whole practicable or desirable : whether the doctrines of it would not be imperfectly understood, or grossly misconceived, or professed to no good purpose ; whether as Gentilism and Judaism infected Christianity, so the favourite and inveterate superstitions of the American idolaters, would not soon debase its purity, and counteract its efficacy. But this objection does not reach with its full force to the Mahometans of the East, who are lifted far above the ignorance of barbarians and the ferocity of savages ; and a wider scope surely would be here given for instructing them successfully in the sublimer doctrines of Christianity. The savage, whose gloomy and confined theology was perhaps the growth of turbulent passion and wild fancy, might easily be persuaded to admit the existence of miracles ; from the similitude they bear to the supposed interpositions of his deities ; from his incapacity to ascertain the force of natural causes ; and from a kind of instinctive propensity to believe  
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in those which are extraordinary. But the Mahometans, while they admit the principle of miracles, might be made more distinctly to conceive, and more readily to embrace the argument from prophecy, in all its nice dependencies and gradual evolutions. Among them we are not to contend with the boisterous tempers and stubborn habits which characterise the human species in a state of barbarism: we should find them already a race of men and citizens, who by an easy transition might pass to a full belief of the doctrines of Christianity.

For the propagation of the Gospel in the East many inducements and advantages are held out to us, which the savage condition of the Indians of America does not afford. The Mahometans are an immense body of men, natives of populous and mighty empires, greatly exceeding in population the kingdoms of Christendom, and almost entirely occupying one quarter of the habitable globe. They are the subjects of regulated states; they are the



the observers of established laws; civilized by the intercourse of agriculture and commerce, and polished by the use of letters and of arts. They are neither involved in the impiety of atheism, nor the darkness of idolatry; and their religion, false as it is, has many articles of belief in common with our own: which will facilitate our labours in diffusing the true faith, and dispose them to receive it. They believe in one God, creator and lord of all; to whom they attribute infinite power, justice, and mercy. They hold the immortality of the soul; and expect a future judgment, a heaven and a hell; they acknowledge an universal deluge; they honour the patriarch Abraham as the first author of their religion; they acknowledge Moses and Christ to have been great prophets, and allow the Pentateuch and the Gospel to be sacred books.

Since, therefore, by our holy scriptures, the duty of attempting the universal conversion of mankind is amply

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ascertained ; and since we find among the followers of Mahomet such favourable prepossessions and established doctrines, as will render easy the approach to their conversion, neither force of obligation, nor prospect of success is wanting, to encourage our progress and animate our zeal. By the ministers of the Gospel the examples of those memorable times should never be forgotten, when the rigid and cruel edicts of Decius and Dioclesian were ineffectual to subdue the sacred enthusiasm of those faithful disciples of Christ, who, for the sake of gaining one proselyte to heaven, made a voluntary sacrifice of every temporal enjoyment, and nobly forfeited their liberties and lives. Compared with what they suffered, and performed, how little is our labour, and how mild our obligation ? To contend with the blindness and obstinacy of an idolatrous and wicked age, and to groan under the oppressions of an overspreading tyranny, was their severe, but glorious fate. It is ours to propagate the same religion



religion in countries to which our commerce has extended, when its truths have been confirmed by the revolution of succeeding centuries, and when its excellence has been illustrated by the wisdom and experience of more enlightened times.

If any further inducement be wanting to excite our endeavours and animate our hopes in this work of charity, it is the consideration that in remote and extensive provinces, *subject to our own empire*, and obedient to our own laws, millions of the inhabitants *still* wander in darkness and error; some deluded by the Mahometan imposture, and others bigoted to the more ancient and more absurd superstition of Brama.

The relation of a connected government, like that of a common country, is a tie that nature has made, and that never should be violated, or forgotten. Actuated, I would hope, by this exalted principle, we have already extended to our

fellow-subjects in Indostan many of those natural and civil rights, which we have so long regarded with an honest pride, and vindicated with a noble ardour.

It behoves us, therefore, as Men, as Englishmen, and as Christians, to go farther. Let it not be said, that even at this boasted period of humanity and science, when we are diffusing the blessings of civil freedom over the remotest branches of the empire, no attempt is made to emancipate them from the chains of superstition.

Our settlements in India occupy a far greater extent than the British empire in Europe; yet in no part of these wide provinces has one single effort been exerted to introduce the glorious light of the gospel, and to dispel the gloom which has for ages enveloped the wretched inhabitants. All the differences in religion which the native has ever known, are in reality but different modifications of error and impiety;



piety ; and though he refuse to subscribe to one imposture, he derives from that refusal no other advantage than the unhappy alternative of paying an implicit and servile reverence to another.

The grand distinction, however, is that which separates the Mahometans from the Gentoos. The latter were the original inhabitants ; and their superstition was of high antiquity and distinguished reputation in the country. The religion of Mahomet found its way into the distant regions of India by means similar to those by which it had been diffused over the intervening kingdoms. Within a century after the death of the impostor, the enterprising caliphs, amidst the rage of conquest by which they were animated, carried their arms into this country : and though unable to subject any considerable part to their empire and religion, yet they continued to harass it with repeated incursions through the succeeding ages. At length, however, in

the fourteenth century of the Christian æra, directed by the same spirit of enthusiasm, the bolder genius of Tamerlane prompted him to engage in the conquest of these vast and populous regions, for the sole and avowed purpose of rescuing the inhabitants from the absurdities of Paganism, and disseminating among them the saving truths of the holy religion of Islam !

In the prosecution of this romantic and visionary project he deluged the plains of Indostan with the blood of thousands of idolaters, and continued his impetuous career till at length opposition ceased before him, and the sanguinary doctrines of his pretended prophet were finally established on the ruins of the milder superstition of Brama.

Since the age of Tamerlane, Mahometanism has been uniformly the religion of the government of India : the Gentoo, however, are still said to exceed in  
number



number the Mahometans in the proportion of ten to one \*, and to retain at this day an originality of character, which neither the sudden violence of conquest, nor the slow operations of time have in any considerable degree effaced.

The religious creed of the Gentoos is a system of the most barbarous idolatry. They acknowledge, indeed, one supreme God : yet innumerable are the subordinate deities whom they worship ; and innumerable also are the vices and follies which they ascribe to them. With a blindness which has ever been found inseparable from Polytheism, they adore as the attributes of their gods the weaknesses and passions which deform and disgrace human nature ; and their worship is in many respects not unworthy of the deities who are the objects of it. The favour of beings which have no existence but in the imagination of the superstitious enthusiast, is conciliated by senseless ce-

\* See Orme's History of Indostan.

remonies and unreasonable mortifications ; by ceremonies which consume the time which should be dedicated to the active and social duties ; and by mortifications which strike at the root of every lawful and innocent enjoyment. What indeed shall we think of a religion, which supposes the expiation of sins to consist in penances, than which fancy cannot suggest any thing more rigorous and absurd ; in sitting or standing whole years in one unvaried posture ; in carrying the heaviest loads, or dragging the most weighty chains ; in exposing the naked body to the scorching sun ; and in hanging with the head downward before the fiercest and most intolerable fire ?

But it were endless to dwell on all their superstitious rites. The following, which has been frequently confirmed to us without prejudice and without design, is alone sufficient to awaken every tender feeling of our hearts, and to incite us to the exertion of every effort which may tend to wean the minds of this unenlightened people



people from practices so impious and inhuman. It will easily be imagined, that I allude to that most cruel custom, by which the wife of the Gentoo is induced to burn herself on the pile which consumes the ashes of her husband; a custom, if not absolutely enjoined by her religion, yet at least so far recommended by it, as to render the breach of it, in some cases, subject to the utmost ignominy and detestation.

The facts which I have recited, as well as many others of equal importance, are too well known to be denied. From these alone every humane heart will at once infer the necessity of endeavouring to substitute the pure and rational religion of Jesus in the place of a creed so shocking to our reason, and to our finer sensibilities.

Happily, however, there are circumstances which seem favourable to such an attempt. For, that natural sagacity which

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is the national characteristic of the Gentoos, the austere and abstemious life which they lead, the gentleness and serenity of their temper, their belief of a future state, and the idea of one supreme God, which mixes even with the worship of their subordinate deities; all seem to afford a rational ground for us to expect their conversion.

But in what manner must we proceed in this interesting and most arduous project? Have not schemes of religious reformation been planned with plausible appearances in all ages; and in all have they not been foiled by real and stubborn difficulties? Are not the most approved reasonings, and the most glowing eloquence, defeated by ignorance or obstinacy in those who are to be taught? Has not the indiscretion or rashness of the teacher, in too many instances, entirely counteracted his benevolence, however sincere, and his activity, however unwearied? Let us not be discouraged by these general complaints



plaints, from taking a large and exact view of the particular question we are now called upon to examine.

The awful subjects of religion are to be treated differently in different circumstances. Some there are, whose minds are enlightened by science, enlarged by long and extensive intercourse with the world, and invigorated by habits of profound and intense meditation: the faith of such men will be unshaken, and their devotion will be ardent, not from the aid of external forms, but by silent and secret adoration of the Deity, and by deep reflection upon the most extensive and abstracted truths of religion, both natural and revealed. But it would be visionary and dangerous to expect the same beneficial effects among persons of talents less cultivated, and of views less extensive. Experience tells us, that with the bulk of mankind some caution is necessary in the selection of topics adapted to their apprehension, and that much sagacity must be employed

employed in the use of all those collateral and external expedients which are to awaken their attention, and to direct it when awakened, to proper objects. When therefore Christianity is attempted to be propagated among the inhabitants of the East, the attention of those to whom we preach it, must be confined to doctrines systematically inculcated, and to a ritual punctually observed. We must not leave the great truths of salvation fluctuating with wild uncertainty in the minds of those who embrace them. To understandings which have recently emerged from the grossest superstition, we must not commit the task of *appointing for themselves* the modes of conciliating the divine favour by humble supplication and fervent thanksgiving. There is something attractive, we know, in the regularity and decency of prescribed forms; there is something highly instructive and persuasive in the plainness and precision of doctrines methodically proposed to the understanding. But in the *manner* of preparing



paring these doctrines and these forms lies the chief difficulty we have to contend with: and it must be confessed, that Christian churches have often brought disgrace upon the general cause of Christianity, by an extravagant and undistinguishing attachment to their own peculiar tenets and favourite ceremonies. They have supposed the followers of other systems equally able to comprehend what habit has familiarized, and equally disposed to adopt what conviction has endeared, to themselves.

The efforts of missionaries, whom the policy or the zeal of the Romish church may have hitherto employed, have sometimes incurred the contempt of the Infidel, and sometimes provoked the indignation of the Philosopher. They have been marked rather by eagerness to multiply converts, than by ability to promote the real happiness of those that were converted. They appear to have substituted one species of superstition for another

other ; to have darkened the understanding with error ; and to have poisoned the heart with bigotry.

But the advocates of sound and rational Christianity will not be exposed to these formidable imputations. Whatever specious and refined speculations may suggest, upon the natural pliancy of the human mind in receiving, and on its natural firmness in retaining religious impressions, experience is our safest guide in dealing with the mass of mankind, who are prone to run into the most opposite extremes ; to be sometimes fickle, and sometimes obstinate ; sluggish in one moment, and, in the next, precipitate. Our regulations must, therefore, be adapted to the real *weaknesses* as well as capacities of those whom we would instruct. Some specific doctrines, as I before observed, must be taught, and some particular ceremonies must be recommended : we must interest the imagination, whilst we convince the judgment. But the task



task, arduous as it is, may be properly and effectually performed by a strict adherence to the genuine and characteristic principles of Protestantism. The leading, the essential, the most indubitable, and the most important doctrines of Christianity, must be proposed to the eastern nations expressed in the clearest language, and supported by the most luminous arguments. When the errors and prejudices of those whom we instruct, are, in some measure, subdued; and when their minds have been gradually prepared for a fuller delineation of evangelical truth, we may *then*, and then only, venture to propose those doctrines which are of a more mysterious and recondite nature. We must disclose them gradually, and with a spirit of the most enlarged toleration to those persons, whose scruples cannot be entirely vanquished, and whose errors cannot be *at once* removed.

In overcoming the rooted and favourite prepossessions of the Gentoos and Mahometans,

metans, there, doubtless, will be room for the most accurate discrimination, and for the nicest delicacy. Their ignorance must be treated with tenderness, and their well meant, though mistaken piety, will demand some portion even of reverence. Every truth we communicate, must be assisted and recommended by the method in which it is to be communicated. It must carry along with it the brightest and most unequivocal evidence, not only of the firm conviction it has impressed upon the judgment of the teacher, but of the amiable effects which it has wrought upon his temper, his actions, and his words.

I would have it understood, that no artifice, however plausible, no force, however indirect, should be employed by protestant missionaries; and that my wish is rather to have Christianity taught as a true revelation, than to see it established suddenly upon the ruins of any false religion, which may have formerly prevailed. By these means we shall obtain



tain all the advantages, which the Romans enjoyed, by tolerating the customary worship and ancient theology of the nations whom they governed; and surely, from the superior excellence of the doctrines which we endeavour to disseminate, and by which we profess to be ourselves directed, we shall stand a fairer chance of making converts, than a heathen missionary; and shall derive greater benefits from those who are converted, than paganism could confer on its sincerest and warmest votaries.

Similarity in religious persuasion certainly enlarges the sphere of social intercourse; facilitates the progress of civilization; and invigorates the operations of lawful government. This similarity it will be in our power to effect in some degree by judicious and temperate measures, in supporting the claims of Christianity over the popular systems of belief that are now approved in the East. Let it, however, not be said, that tenets so opposite

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posite to each other cannot be taught with propriety, or even with safety, in the same country. Experience informs us that a Mahometan can obey the same laws, and pursue the same civil employments with the Gentoo: and doubtless, what is actually practised by the professors of opinions so romantic and discordant, may be yet more practicable under the mild and auspicious influence of the Gospel. The energies of a firm and watchful government will repress the furious sallies of zeal; will protect all parties indiscriminately in their adherence to what they conceive to be truth; and at the same time will gradually prepare their minds for an impartial and serious discussion of such evidence, as may be brought to support the religion which really and solely *is the true*.

To the scheme here proposed, there, doubtless, is an objection which a grovelling and sordid spirit of covetousness is  
too



too apt to cherish. “ At present, it  
 “ may be said, the credulous Maho-  
 “ metan, and superstitious Gentoo, are  
 “ unambitious in their views, and tract-  
 “ able in their dispositions. Their opi-  
 “ nions do not disturb our tranquillity,  
 “ and their ceremonies only provoke our  
 “ contempt. But if they should here-  
 “ after see the fallacy of the one, and the  
 “ absurdity of the other : if they should  
 “ catch the manly and active spirit which  
 “ distinguishes the inhabitants of Christian  
 “ countries : if the bolder exercise of their  
 “ intellectual faculties should beget a juster  
 “ sense of their civil and political rights,  
 “ what may be the effects of such a revo-  
 “ lution upon us ? Actuated by nobler  
 “ feelings than they have hitherto experi-  
 “ enced, they will quickly exchange con-  
 “ fidence for distrust, and submission for  
 “ resistance. They will compel us in our  
 “ turn, to drag the yoke of servitude ; or  
 “ they will drive us from their shores as  
 “ a race of merciless ruffians, and in-  
 “ fatiable plunderers.”

Now on the broad and solid principles of philanthropy and revelation, I see nothing in this popular objection which ought to shake our conviction, or to slacken our activity. A religion which enlivens the industry, and animates the courage of those who profess it; which awakens in them a more correct and more exquisite sense of their duties as men, and their importance as citizens; such a religion, I say, carries with it many bright proofs of its utility and its truth. May we not then expect that the Philosopher will view the scheme I am proposing with fixed approbation, and that the Christian will embrace it with ardent fondness?

However we may attempt to varnish over the fact, the spirit of commerce will often seize, and often create opportunities of rapacity; and in regions very distant from the seat of empire, where the directions of law are frequently indistinct,



and the restraints of shame are always feeble, the iron scourge of oppression will sometimes be lifted up against unprotected innocence, and conspicuous merit; against ignorance which cannot ascertain its privileges, and weakness which cannot assert them. But surely no plan of commerce can be lasting, and upon the whole advantageous; no form of government can be venerable or defensible; which excludes mutual trust, and does not provide for the mutual benefit of both parties, who are concerned with the one or subject to the other. On the contrary, if we communicate the arts, the laws, and the religion of Europe to Eastern nations; if we shew them by our works as well as by our words, that we are the disciples of Jesus; if we labour both for their spiritual and their temporal welfare; there can be no reason to doubt of an ultimate and an adequate reward. They to whom we have given so sure an earnest of our sincerity and of

our benevolence, will no longer view us with coldness as strangers, or with suspicion as foes. They will treat us, because they are *themselves treated*, as fellow-citizens and fellow-Christians; they will share with us in the common danger, and toil with us for the common interest; because they will consider themselves as partakers of the same blessings here, and heirs of the same promises hereafter.

Such measures it is true, may prevent individuals from amassing exorbitant wealth, from revelling in luxurious voluptuousness, and from grasping at enormous dominion. But such measures, even if they tend to the removal of these outrageous evils *alone*, are not unworthy of our regard; and they deserve a yet larger share of our attention, if, in consequence of our honest and strenuous endeavours to execute them, the general harmony of the Europeans and Orientals would be more effectually secured, and the general



ral happiness of both promoted more successfully.

Zealous in the recommendation of this purpose, I regard not the cold and mistaken policy of some, who would separate our religious from our civil interests. This country has ever boasted with equal pride and justice the purity of its worship, and the excellence of its government. The same happy æra gave birth to each: out of the ashes of despotism and superstition they both arose; and if they fall, they will fall together. Narrow therefore and false is that philanthropy, which pretends to be solicitous for the rights and liberties of mankind, while for their eternal welfare it employs no measures, and even professedly feels no concern.

In what better purpose can a wise and virtuous nation be employed, than in propagating its religion,

wherefoever its laws are obeyed? If it seeks to protect, and not to impoverish; if it desires to govern, and not to enslave, it will be equally intent to diffuse among its subjects the rights of freedom, and the privileges of Christianity.

And at what period in the history of our empire could this attempt be made, with a more favourable prospect of success than at present? The extreme importance of Indian wealth to our commerce, and the growing connection between the principles of that commerce, and of the government which is to protect it, have awakened the attention of the legislature to subjects equally extensive and interesting. The code which directs the belief and influences the actions of the Hindoos, has been lately translated into the vernacular language, and submitted to the inspection of public curiosity. Hence we are enabled to trace the long and close connection that subsists



sists between the religious and civil laws of the Hindoos. We can discern what errors are almost impregnable to argument, and what may be overcome by cautious and well-directed opposition. We see in their full magnitude the futility of their traditions, and the absurdity of their ceremonies. We can mark the slow and imperfect progress of civilization and science ; and should therefore be careful to make their future progress in religious knowledge keep a due proportion to those improvements, in the attainment of which we are preparing to assist them in social life. We cannot indeed so far adopt the policy of the Romans as to naturalize \* any part of their mythology, because *all* the parts of it are in *all respects* incompatible with our own religion. But we may gradually lessen their reverence for their sacred records, by exercising their faith on *other* more undoubted interpositions of the Deity. When European customs have

\* See Halhed's Preface to the Code of Gentoo Laws.

been

been in some degree introduced among the Hindoos, we shall find them less solicitous for the observance of Eastern ceremonies. When European science has dawned upon their minds, we may see them less tenacious of their old opinions. The auspicious effects of our laws will create some kind of prejudice in favour of our religion; and when they find it so perfectly exempt from the sanguinary and intolerant spirit of Mahometanism, they may by degrees be brought to listen to the evidences by which it is supported, and the sanctions by which it is enforced. For incorporating their laws with our own, we have formed a plan, the completion of which is likely to do honour to our national policy and national magnanimity. Yet if we mean only to exempt the inhabitants of the East from temporary inconvenience and oppression; if we do not intend to exalt them gradually in the scale of social creatures; if we exert no endeavours for enlarging the sphere of their



their future speculation and *moral improvement*, we shall leave the work shamefully imperfect; and substitute, I fear, selfish cunning for genuine and enlarged wisdom. It would, indeed, be a refined species of mockery to hold out the blessings of a free and equitable government, to those who are too ignorant to understand, and too languid to enjoy them.

Such is the favourable posture of affairs in the East, and such the assistance which our political systems may there give to the propagation of religious truth. If we turn our eyes towards ourselves, we shall perceive many striking discriminations of the present age, which, under judicious direction, may not be disadvantageous to the cause of Christianity. A spirit of adventure is gone forth among us; a spirit of experiment: it has infected our philosophy, our religion, and our politics. It has perplexed vulgar minds in the mazes  
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of error and absurdity, and hurried away men of the brightest faculties into the dangerous extremes of subtlety and refinement.

Let us apply this restless principle to a labour of more general importance, and more obvious utility : let us present a nobler scheme for its contemplation, and a worthier object for its exertions. No longer busied in fruitless projects, and groundless theories, let us apply it, where it will be attended with practical advantage, in converting and enlightening our colonies in the East.

Gratitude, compassion, patriotism, and above all, the yet nobler principle of Christian charity, call loudly on us to communicate to others the blessings which we ourselves enjoy ; to publish the glad tidings of salvation among those nations that now sit in darkness, aliens from Christ, and strangers to the covenant of grace : And while we declare to the savage



vage of America the joys and glories of everlasting life, let us lead also the disciple of Brama, and the follower of Mahomet, from the error of their ways, into the glorious light of the gospel of peace.

To Omniscience only are known the times and the seasons. We cannot thwart the real purposes of Heaven by deliberate perverseness or preposterous diligence. But the wish to forward them is always meritorious ; the attempt, if conducted with prudence and with firmness, will procure us some reward ; and surely, if in the moral government of the world, the Deity conveys temporal happiness by the agency of his creatures, that agency becomes more splendid and more important, when it is wisely and generously employed in promoting their eternal welfare. Though our powers and our efforts in carrying on the scheme I am now recommending to you into execution, should be for a time ineffectual, the day will assuredly come, when

when others shall accomplish what we may attempt in vain ; when all the religions of the earth shall be changed into the worship of the one true God ; when not only the Mahometan and Hindoo, but every nation and every kindred shall bow the knee at the name of JESUS ; and when Christian charity, like its almighty Author, shall finally subdue all things unto itself.

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F I N I S.

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E R R A T U M.

P. 5. l. 23. *for operation, read compression.*



